1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls:

My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vegetables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excellent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Divisions of Time

192 805 184 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new month (wira). There are slight differences in the names of the months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

Nebraska

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Hándjwiro-a'gaxina, last bear month.
3. Wák'ek' iru'x', raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'deginá'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Mai° da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'teera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Wida'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wixa'xek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pca'mai°na'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Hu°-wai°jukera, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Tcaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tca'hewakru', when the deer shed their horns.

Wisconsin—

1. Hu'ndjwi teonina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gaxina, last bear month.
3. Wák'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'deginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Mai°da'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Mai°ŋai'u°ŋa, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'teerera, tasseling month.
9. Hu° waiju'kara, elk-whistling month.
10. Tco'mai°na'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Tcaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Tcahe'yakru'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 221 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

8. Month in which people hunt deer. At this time deer are very tame and frequent the streams. 885 221

6. Month in which people plant corn, squash, and beans.

7. Month in which people hunt deer. At this season deer are very fat. The hunters return to their homes at the beginning of the eighth month.

8. Month in which people dry corn and store it away.

9. Month in which people tie the rice stems into bundles and go through them with their canoes.

10. Month in which the people go on their fall move and hunt the larger animals.

11. Month in which the people go on their fall move and dry their meat.

12. Month in which the people return to their winter quarters.

From this calendar of activities it is apparent that the longest period the Winnebago remained at home continuously was three months, the twelfth, first, and second. They were at home also throughout the sixth and eighth months. Whether they were in their villages at intervals during the fourth and fifth months is hard to determine. It is probable that the fishing or hunting trips consumed a considerable portion of, if not the entire, month. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months the Winnebago were undoubtedly away from their villages all the time. 221

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

Introduction

121 178 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. [114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 121 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 619 [65] [574] The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

● 221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

Crashing Thunder

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
●221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[180] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[593] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary
[603] for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen, to inform them how to recognize the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

1 [i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, See P-1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

Early Childhood

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. When the hunting season was open, I would begin to fast again.

This was my life for a number of years.

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us brothers would fast together. My father would indeed repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[3] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[4] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me.

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[3] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces.

[4] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability.

§3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [84] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was ● [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

Fasting

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over.

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [13] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless.

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk.

[13] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such.

Reminiscences of Childhood

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside. 159* 593 513

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not have enough food on hand and then I would always try to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did. 159* 159 261

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go without food for a whole day while traveling. I did not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time. [484]

In the summer, at the season when people pick berries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive 159* [221] [222] [519]

The Teachings of My Father

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it.

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things.

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault.

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You

7; Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 584 some young men had forced themselves into lodges where they had not been willingly received.

On one occasion I went to see a young girl and arrived there before the people had retired so I waited near the lodge until they went to sleep. As I lay there waiting, listening, I fell asleep. When I woke up it was morning and when the people got up they found me sleeping there. I felt very much ashamed of myself [626] and the people laughed at me. I was not long in getting away.

We always did these things secretly for it was considered a disgrace to be caught and discovered.

On another occasion, in another place, I was crawling into a lodge when some one woke up as I was about halfway in. I immediately stopped and remained quiet and waited for the people to fall asleep again. In waiting, however, I myself fell asleep. When the people woke me up in the morning I was lying halfway inside the lodge. After waking me up they asked me whether I wouldn't stay for breakfast but I immediately ran away.

After a while I began to go around with some particular girl and I liked it so much that I would not get to sleep at all at night. I would sleep during the day. While we were acting in this manner our parents saw to it that we had food to eat and clothes to wear. We never helped them, for we were always courting girls. [221] Only in the fall, when we picked berries, did we help along. However, as we were generally out all night, we could not do much work even then.

§11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place where my father intended to trap, generally to the neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a

*159 ● 221 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 648 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] [861] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P. 88]

My Brother Is Murdered

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken orgy I found myself firmly bound.

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! I then had two women staying with me as my wives. At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted such occupations because I could then always get as much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§26. *I Am Arrested for Murder and Confess*

Two years elapsed. At about that time we heard 159* 698
that the men who were responsible for the disappearance of the Pottawattomie had been discovered. One of those who had taken part in his murder had been to Nebraska and had there announced his deed in recounting his acts of bravery at a Warrior Dance. Such [727]
was the rumor. This same man had also announced it at a funeral wake. It was in this way that the facts had come out.

That same winter, while I was living in the forest [201]
cutting wood, two men came to me one night. They were officers. They mentioned a man's name to me and asked me if I knew him. I said, "Yes." "Well," said they, "let us go to town. We want to ask you some things." They told me to get ready. I did so and rode in a wagon they possessed. Then the men asked me, "Did Peter kill this man? Do you know?" "I do not know," I said to them. Then they told me from what source they had obtained the information and again asked me, "Did you ever hear anything about it?" "No," I answered. "Did you know that this man was missing?" "I did hear that a man had been missing, but as I had not known him, I did not give the matter much thought," I said to them. Then